1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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The structure of these larger family groups is transparent; a group of sons reside in houses adjacent to their parents' home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. They share a common livelihood: father and sons work their undivided fields with their wives' assistance; the new son-in-law works with his wife's father until he breaks off to return to his boyhood home. A common residence and livelihood makes for a common hearth, constant association, and the feeling that such relatives form one big family. Undoubtedly the shortage of active women has intensified the situation, but I doubt that it has created a new condition.[1]

Unattached relatives, widowers and widows (*dlatá*, also an infrequent word for spoiled, awry), are found in the households of their nearest blood relatives. Orphans (*hámdnadlatá*, boy; *mésdlatá*, girl; terms not applied to half orphans) are raised by the relatives of either parent, preferably by a parent's sibling, without prejudice to the interests in the child of the relatives on the other side of the house. Thus, Edgar has lived for several years with Watahomidja, his maternal grandfather, at the same time receiving the gifts of his father's mother and brother.

There is also a tendency toward the formation of still larger groups. This first came to my notice at the dance in 1918, where it was apparent that those from the south end of the village were seated in one group, those from the north end in a second, and families from the central portion formed a third. The division was not absolute, but it was sufficiently marked to be noticeable. The reason for the grouping will appear in the sequel (227, 231), whence it seems that these divisions are the result of relationship and land inheritance, marriage among neighbors, and neighborly interest and cohesion.

Kinship

The individual is oriented among his tribesmen by his relationships. His family is for him a group of kinsmen; beyond them are more distant relatives and in the outer circle the unrelated members of the tribe.

To the question who are kinsmen the answer comes patly enough, blood relatives, but blood relatives are always a group defined by arbitrary limits. This must be particularly true of the Havasupai. Presumably the group never rose in numbers much over 250. I gather that during the last century and a half there were comparatively few intermarriages with foreign tribes, even with the Walapai. Under these conditions everyone must bear innumerable and comparatively close relationships

[1] I have shown elsewhere (*A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*) how a similar system might easily arise from the Havasupai situation.

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ing additional fields. Proprietary rights in land depend most emphatically on use, for unless it is generally understood that a patch has not been finally abandoned, someone does not fail to occupy it if it is at all cultivable. 311 423

The cultivated land forms a continuous strip through the canyon of corn and alfalfa fields, pastures, orchards, and groves. Boundaries are definite and marked by fences, lines of trees, or ditches. Fencing may be an old custom as Cushing saw wooden fences in use in 1881.[1]

Title to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support. For instance, a Walapai widow who lives with her Havasupai stepdaughter has taken an unattractive patch for her own. When a woman marries she transfers her planting activities from her own family fields to those of her husband. Children are never land owners, although they may help their elders to plant. There is not even nominal ownership in order to distribute the hazard of bad luck such as occurs among the White Mountain Apache. If parents have sufficient land, they allow their adult children to plant in the surplus. Thus, Teikapaniga and his wife let their children, Jess (and his wife) and Helen, use half their land. Since Helen married she assists her husband in planting his fields. 423 [592] [589]

Land is inherited in the male line. All the sons share in the joint heritage, which may remain undivided for years until they have established families whose diverse interests make parceling desirable. The widow and unmarried daughters share at least in the use of the land, but they cannot be said to have title to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If the widow re-marries too soon, her interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. In the absence of direct heirs, i.e., sons or their male descendants, unmarried daughters, or widow, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male heirs. Evidently daughters retain some right to share the use of their parents' land even after they marry, since a portion is often set aside for them to plant for the support of their children. Such land normally reverts to their fathers' families. Divorced and widowed women have at all times the privilege of falling back on the parental lands for support. 428 [562] [589] [736]

[1] Cushing, (a), 374; compare Zuñi sand-mound boundaries [Cushing, (d), 132] and Navaho fences of brush [Stephen, (b), 334].

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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well to relate them: it may therefore be that they really do not know them until later in life. 538

Affectionate care is lavished on children, especially the recently bereft orphan for whom new playthings are made and choice tidbits saved. It is quite common to see parents fondle their children, stroking their hair, etc., but rarely kissing them. Inasmuch as chastisement is rarely inflicted, it is astonishing to mark their good behavior. They are docile, not forward, reserved before their elders, and, I judge, are never long the topic of their parents' conversation, at least while they are present. Children rarely cry, and this is not frequently for anger or to gain their desires. 855 [734]

Punishment is infrequent, but a child who persistently disobeys orders, is heedless, or filches food before others eat, is slapped or switched a few times on the thigh. A more drastic punishment consists in building a smudge of the child's faeces, together with those of dog and horse, in which he is held head downward until he nearly loses consciousness. "This was frequently done to old Captain B, when he was a boy; now you see he is all right." Sometimes a teased child becomes angry. The man then takes him into a nearby sweatlodge, threatening, in a teasing way, to keep him there till sundown, though the heat kill him. When the child is almost overcome, he promises to behave, and is released. 865

If a child is often beaten without just provocation, he may feel that he is not wanted, then, just like an adult, his soul or heart[1] forsakes him and he pines and dies. The soul of a little child is easily frightened; one who is always timorous, though no danger is near, will not live long. Sinyella has never seen such, but he has heard this told. 855 858

Little children are told by their elders[2] that the echo is the call of a man hiding in the rocks or in a cave. They are sent to search for him. "Try it again; he will appear there; you will see him soon." 855

Early in the morning a dark yellow rock-bird (*tatlθá*) will chatter in the bushes close to the camp. Then the old people will say to a little boy: "The rock-bird laughs and calls at you, 'You have no arrow to kill me; you look like a girl.'"

Puberty Customs

These, which concern girls alone, are even more moderately developed than among neighboring tribes. 881

At the first menstruation, stones are heated in a pit near the camp, covered with dirt, and carpeted with leaves and brush. The blanket-

[1] These English words were used interchangeably in this connection.
[2] Who do not mislead themselves.

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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Sinyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon. 758

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweatlodge, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, who now took charge of him. 152 571 [736] [603]

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splashing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweatlodge and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid exposure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only infrequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen. 515 [171] [834] [296]

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur. 554 624

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers. 558

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard. 555

586 obtain custody of him (not in the legal sense). In general, however, a cooperative attitude between the parents prevails, especially after the initial bitterness which led to divorce has mellowed.

Care of Orphans

736 An orphan may be cared for by either set of grandparents. If a large family of children loses both parents, the children may be divided among a number of relatives. Sometimes, an orphan has no permanent home, going wherever he finds temporary welcome. The residence rule, the order in which the parents die, kinship category, and economic situation of surviving relatives, and attitude of relatives toward assuming responsibility for the children, are some of the factors which determine an orphan's future residence.

[768] If residence has been patrilocal, paternal relatives may desire to keep with them children to whom they are attached. A widow and her children customarily return to her father's home, for she seldom inherits land from her husband. If a widow dies after returning to the home of her parents, the children may remain with the maternal grandparents. However, such cases seem to be settled on an individual basis, rather than in accordance with a set pattern.

736 In one example, the father preceded the mother in death by about eight
768 months. The widow and children abandoned their own home to live at the camp of the widow's parents, adding seven persons to an extended family which included 11 permanent members and several semipermanent residents. Upon the widow's death, two or three of her children remained with her parents, while the others went to live temporarily with other maternal relatives, two of whom were only distantly related to the children. In this instance, there were no close paternal relatives, and the maternal grandparents were crowded and economically pressed. A few years later when the oldest boy had married, the younger children, with the exception of the youngest child, lived with him during school vacations. The girl, who was the exception, had been taken for a time by a white family, but tribal sentiment opposed adoption outside the tribe, so that she was given, at least temporarily, to her uncle.

736 If there are no lineal grandparents living, the children may be cared for by another "grandparent" who is a sibling of a lineal grandparent. Two examples of this in previous years were recorded, each involving several children. In both instances the children had been closely associated with these nonlineal "grandparents" from early childhood.

Relatives of orphans usually show them special sympathy and consideration following their bereavement. There is little doubt, however, that some

orphans fail to find security; it is not suggested that the best of relatives are ever perfect parents surrogate. In a strictly economic consideration, several children thrust upon a family constitute a significant burden in a society which has a median annual cash income per family of less than $300 (Kelly, 1953, 56) and which in former times maintained a low subsistence level. 736 [511]

While a widow has a right, and is expected, to return to her parents' home, she may reside independently. This arrangement occurred in a few cases of land inheritance from the husband. If a widow is young, she may leave her children with one or the other set of grandparents and seek work off the reservation. This, of course, is a fairly recent change in custom. In former times a widow, wherever she lived, continued gathering and gardening activities and camp work, a continuation of previous responsibilities. It may have been necessary for her to spend less time with her children, or to leave their care to someone else due to her greater economic burden. Even if she were living in the household of a relative, she probably would find it necessary to play a larger economic role than previously. Addition of nonproducing dependents meant a strain on food resources of a household already on a meager subsistence level. 736 768

In at least two instances within the last two decades, grandparents have sought custody of grandchildren upon the death of one parent. In the first case, a father who resides off the reservation was left with two small children for whom he arranged temporary care with other families. When the maternal grandfather discovered that his infant grandson had been left on the Walapai reservation, he had the baby brought to hi[illegible] Supai. The father demanded immediate return of the child, and after some conflict and final intervention by Indian Service personnel, the boy was returned to his father. What settlement would have been reached in the absence of outside authoritative interference is uncertain. 736 768 603

In the second example, a paternal grandfather refused to let his widowed daughter-in-law have her small son. The widow's entire marriage had been spent in patrilocal residence, where she was the only woman in the household. Her father-in-law had been greatly attached to her husband and was similarly devoted to his grandson. The widow's mother was dead and her own father's second marriage was disrupted by frequent separations and change of residence so that the widow had little incentive to join her father's unstable household. Following her husband's death, the widow found employment at Grand Canyon, but her father-in-law refused to permit her child to leave his house in spite of the fact there was no woman present to care for the boy. Again, intervention by Indian Service employees placed the boy in the mother's custody when she was able to provide care for him. The widow has now remarried, and her son lives with her in the household of her new husband's parents. The behavior of the widow's former father-in-law in this instance appears to be an example of the manner in which individuals of aggressive or forceful mien occasionally flaunt traditional patterns. [59]

768 However, such behavior of men toward women is somewhat of a pattern in any conflict situation among the Havasupai, with the exception of cases in 736 which the interests of a woman may be protected by kinsmen with whom her [562] protagonist wishes to avoid conflict.

A motherless child may feel almost as insecure as an orphan. Such a child may (but in practice seldom does) live with his father after the father remarries. Three or four adult men who were motherless children recalled that they felt anxiety and loneliness, and a sense of "not belonging" to anyone in particular in childhood, although their relatives had been good to them and had provided for them as best they could. In the reverse situation, an old man whose father had died when he was about five years old, recalls that he was economically insecure and "just went where they would feed me" until his mother remarried. A sense of security then returned, for his stepfather treated him like a real son.

Deviant Personalities

158 There are, among Havasupai adults, several persons who as children exhibited patterns of behavior different from the norm and far from the ideal. These behavior traits have carried over into adulthood, producing in one case an apparently psychotic woman who is a problem to the community in the area of interpersonal relationships. In childhood this woman exhibited strongly introverted and antisocial tendencies, earning for herself the name of Prairie Dog because, when neighboring children came to play with her siblings, she always ran to hide behind the house and would then pop up and peek at the other children until they saw her, when she would duck from sight only to pop up in another spot. In adult life she exhibits what appear to be paranoid tendencies, consistently believing herself to be persecuted by nearly everyone else in the tribe and at the same time feeling herself in every way superior to "these ignorant people who don't know how to act right."

158 Other individuals who were considered different by members of their
578 age group, as boys were aggressive and attempted to dominate in games; others characterized them as bullies. These boys were largely avoided by other children. As adults they continue to behave aggressively and have not gained in popularity.

Another man who is said to have been disobedient and aggressive when he was a boy is now an aggressive adult somewhat feared by others and is said to be so sly that he is called "The Fox."

Several others who are said to have been "mean boys," that is, that they were disobedient or were pranksters, are now popular and respected members of the community and apparently were acceptable and even sought after as playmates in childhood.

593 tion usually developing between affinal relatives, particularly mother-in-
578 law and daughter-in-law. One recent divorce stemmed from such a situa-
603 tion. The divorced woman told the investigator, "She (the mother-in-law)
604 wouldn't let me do anything with my children the way I wanted to. Every
time I corrected or tried to punish one, she stopped me and petted my
children so I couldn't do a thing with them. I tried and tried, but I just got
[586] tired of it, so finally I quit trying. That's why I started running around and
thinking about a divorce." In this instance, after the divorce, the mother-
in-law kept two of the children with her against the daughter-in-law's
wishes.

While a mother may harbor minor resentments against grandparents arising from differences over her children, serious disagreements seem to be infrequent. The common course at present when friction exists in an extended family is for the younger married couple to move away.

Economic Training

868 When a mother must work in the fields or hunt for wild plants, she
462 takes her children along if the situation permits. Otherwise, she leaves
them with a relative. She teaches small girls and boys to help her in her
easier tasks, and as her daughters grow they share her daily work. Al-
though a woman's sons are permitted more free time and their work is with
their father, they also help her with some of the campwork at her bidding
or by their own inclination. A woman does much of her work sitting on the
[576] ground, and it is a common thing for her to ask her son of any age to bring
an article to her or to perform some small task merely because she doesn't
wish to get up. Camp routine is such that any member of the family may
sometimes help with whatever work needs doing. Boys in a family do not
expect their mother or sisters to wait upon them in small things they can
easily do for themselves.

593 Relationship between a mother and her children includes respect for
861 the former, which seems to grow out of the child's affection and realization
of obligation rather than from any demand for it. While a mother expects
obedience and exercises a certain firmness, she resorts to punishment in-
frequently and is generally quite indulgent with small children. She appears
to win respect and obedience through kindness and unending patience. Nag-
ging was never observed. A child is seldom given the same request or
command more than once or twice; if he does not comply in a reasonable
time, he is rebuked or punished, or more frequently the matter is dropped,
at least for the time being.

Care of Others' Children

854 Adult women, married or unmarried, may temporarily or permanently
736 assume the role of mother to one or more children not their own but usually

[Text continues on page 130]

854 rather closely related to them. In instances where such arrangements were
736 observed, the woman in question appeared to treat her charges much as she did, or would have, treated her own children.

593 In one instance, an unmarried woman cared for her illegitimate nephew during most of his first 10 or 11 years. The attitude between aunt and
854 nephew, closely observed when the boy was 14, was one of deep mutual af-
736 fection and happy camaraderie. The boy confided in his aunt, joked with
591 her, helped her with whatever work was at hand, spent much of his leisure time with her, and could be depended upon to stop his play to cook or perform some other task at a specified time in her absence. This woman has cared for a succession of other nieces and nephews, and a child or two more distantly related, for shorter periods of months or years, and each summer she has several school vacation visitors.

A mother's association with her unmarried daughters, in earlier days, was closer than that with her sons by virtue of the work they shared. However, with patrilocal residence, a mother could expect a rather close association with her sons as long as she lived. In practice, considerable variation existed according to individual circumstances. Matrilocal residence became permanent under conditions described elsewhere, so that a woman sometimes had a daughter with her permanently or saw a son move away. A widow with adult children usually resided with her sons in an extended household, but if a daughter needed or wanted her or if her association with her daughters-in-law was unhappy, she might join the household of a married daughter. She would not usually reside with a daughter who was in patrilocal residence unless she had no other place to live, and if she did so the daughter and her husband probably would then build their own house and eat separately from the husband's relatives.

Arrangements remain somewhat similar today with certain exceptions. Young married couples are more independent financially and therefore are quicker to move away if friction arises in an extended family. Also, the
[178] changing economic pattern has encouraged young couples to establish their own homes either seasonally or permanently.

Old Age

888 The trend toward breaking up of the extended family leaves elderly
737 people more often alone, so that widows, widowers, or old couples often live apart until they become too feeble to care for themselves. Thus, they frequently must move to the home of a child or relative as infirmity advances.

The helpless aged are cared for by their closest relatives. If a feeble person has no children, he usually lives alone but is cared for by other

888
736 All four of the old woman's children were staying at that time in neighboring camps, and while she dwelt most of her time with one family, she occasionally stayed awhile with the others. The adults regarded her in a kindly way, and appeared tolerant of her failing body and sometimes confused memory, seeming to pity her helplessness.

Her son-in-law, himself nearly 60, one day gestured toward her and asked the investigator, "You gonna get old like that? Not me! I want to die first."

During this period of three weeks, another woman of 88 years came to Grand Canyon to care for her son's children while their mother was working. Before housing arrangements were made, she camped in the open with a roll of bedding and some dishes. Although older than the woman just described, this octogenarian appeared strong and well. Her vision and hearing seemed normal, and her face was unlined except for a few wrinkles at the corners of mouth and eyes giving her an appearance younger than her years. Her light gray hair was cut neatly in a straight line below her ears with a fringe on her forehead, and her clothing was neat, in good repair, and relatively clean. With the assistance of a cane, she walked about easily.

[145]

[481]

On one occasion, this individual came to visit the old woman previously described while the investigator was interviewing the two daughters of the latter. Soon the two were chattering with such animation that the younger women stopped to listen. They burst out laughing and explained, "Those two are saying they want to go away and live together away from other people. They want to go down in the canyon to Indian Gardens where the people used to live in the old times."

During interviews the latter two informants constantly checked information with their aged mother and also consulted the other old woman if she were present. They respected the greater knowledge of their mother concerning earlier days, but if she could not give an answer, they would shrug impatiently and say in English, "Oh, she don't know nothing!" However the old woman seldom evoked this response, for her memory seemed accurate and her mind fairly clear. Her greatest failing was a confusion in time sequences and perspectives.

[153]

Old women, then, generally are respected and treated kindly, although their infirmities may evoke a mild impatience. Old men are treated much the same as senility advances, but during vigorous old age they have somewhat greater prestige than women of comparable age and condition, as they do also in other age brackets. The children of the old woman first described referred to her more youthful state with great pride, for reputedly she had been a horseback rider of skill, and had raced in Flagstaff rodeos, winning when all competitors were men.

[562]

THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their individual fields with the assistance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watchomidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent is sought. Gifts are still interchanged.

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in-law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidja*, your mother, *mamadjitaika*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyaga* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of unfaithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws governing marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes